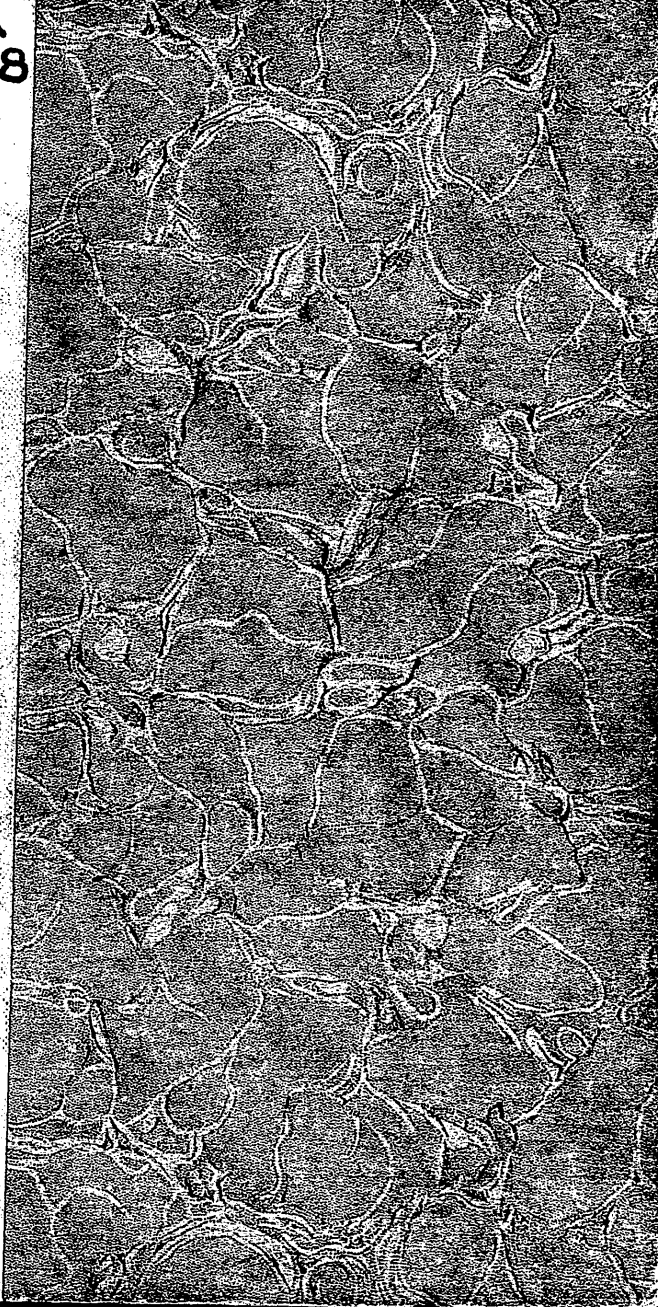
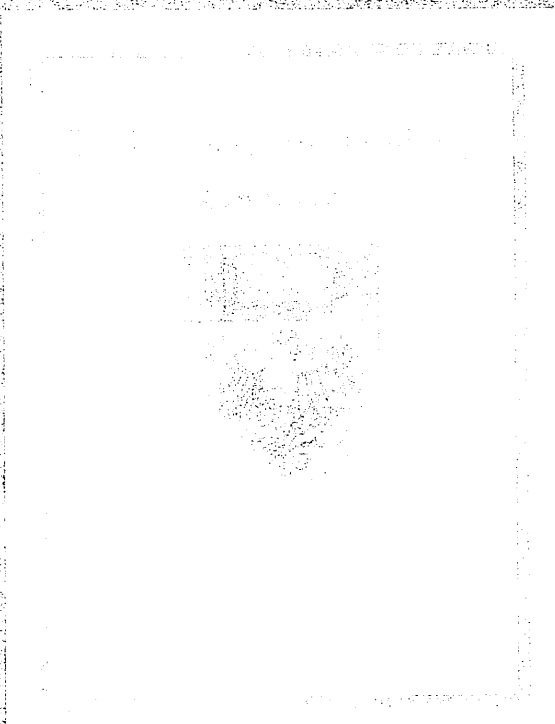


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This is one of a series approved by the Literature Committee of the Oxford Movement Centenary Committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.



*History
Press*

First published 1933

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	vii
The Teaching of Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln.	
Frederick Denison Maurice on Priesthood.	
I. THE EARLY TRACTARIANS IN CAMBRIDGE - -	15
Hugh James Rose.	
W. H. Mill.	
The Historian, Dr. Maitland.	
II. CAMBRIDGE TRACTARIANS IN THE TOWNS AND COUNTRY - - - - -	23
William Dodsworth, Vicar of Christ Church, Albany Street.	
John Mason Neale.	
Benjamin Webb, Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wells Street.	
J. B. Dykes.	
William John Butler of Wantage.	
Charles Gutch of St. Cyprian's, Dorset Square.	
III. THE IMPARTIALITY OF CONNOP THIRLWALL, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S - - - - -	33
IV. THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY TRINITY -	37
George Williams (The Founder).	
William Ralph Churton, Fellow of King's.	
Bishop Woodford of Ely.	
Dean Luckock.	
V. THE REVIVAL IN THE CAMBRIDGE PARISH CHURCHES	46
St. Clement's, The Rev. E. G. Wood.	
St. Giles', Canon Slater.	
All Saints.	
Little St. Mary's.	

	PAGE
VI. SOME CAMBRIDGE LAYMEN OF THE REVIVAL -	50
Gerard Francis Cobb, Fellow of Trinity.	
A. J. Beresford Hope.	
Knight Watson.	
VII. THREE FAMOUS CAMBRIDGE THEOLOGIANs -	54
Dr. Lightfoot.	
Dr. Westcott.	
Dr. Hort.	
VIII. SOME DISCIPLES OF THE THREE WHO ADVANCED THE REVIVAL - - - - -	59
Armitage Robinson, Dean of Wells.	
Professor Swete.	
Canon Mason.	
IX. CAMBRIDGE TRACTARIANS AND THE "CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW" - - - - -	63
Three successive Cambridge Editors.	
Canon Ashwell, Benjamin Webb, and Knight Watson.	
X. SOME CAMBRIDGE BISHOPS IN FOREIGN MISSIONS -	65
Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand.	
Bishop Edward Bickersteth of South Tokio.	
Bishop Smythies of U.M.C.A.	
XI. CAMBRIDGE TRACTARIANS IN COLONIAL CHURCHES -	73
Archdeacon Wirgman.	
James Green, Dean of Maritzburg.	
XII. INFLUENCE OF THE REVIVAL IN THE COLLEGE CHAPELS	76
XIII. CAMBRIDGE MOVEMENTS TOWARDS COMMUNITY LIFE -	78
St. Anselm's.	
The Oratory.	

INTRODUCTION

At the time when the Anglo-Catholic Revival began the dominant religious influence in Cambridge was Evangelical. The Evangelical leader, Simeon, had possessed remarkable ascendancy over the undergraduate life during his long vicariate at Holy Trinity Church. When he died in 1839 his work was continued by Carus. A small but distinguished group of High Churchmen kept alive a more Catholic tradition. To this school of thought belonged Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity for twenty years from 1820-1840. There was Bishop Horsley; also Prof. J. J. Blunt, whose lectures on the Early Fathers (1840-1845) restored a knowledge of primitive Christendom which had ceased to be familiar. By these, and by his lectures on the Duties of the Parish Priest, he produced an effect on candidates for the ministry which was remembered with gratitude in after years.

Professor J. J. Blunt's *Lectures on the Right Use of the Early Fathers*, published in 1857, was in many respects a Cambridge endorsement of the verdict pronounced by the Tractarians at Oxford. He prefaced all he had to say with Bishop Pearson's earnest appeal: "Ye who are devoting yourselves to the divine study of theology; ye who are growing pale over the sacred Scriptures; above all ye who either already occupy the venerable office of the priest, or aspire to do so; ye who are about to undertake the awful care of souls; put away from you

the study of the times; have nothing to do with the novelties that are in vogue; search how it was in the beginning; go to the fountain-head; look to antiquity; return to the reverend Fathers; have respect unto the Primitive Church; that is, to use the words of the prophet I am handling, Ask for the old paths."¹

Blunt urged upon his University hearers the value of the Fathers in enabling us to form a right idea concerning the nature and constitution of the Church; concerning the ministry deriving its authority from the Apostles; concerning the formation of the Canon of the New Testament; in ascertaining the meaning of Holy Scripture; concerning the Eucharist first as a sacrifice and then as the spiritual food; and concerning the necessity of Divine grace for the restoration of man.

Writing in 1830, William Wilberforce remarked on the different effects which the Oxford and the Cambridge system produced on the minds of young men at that date. Speaking of his own sons he said: "All my three Oxonians are strong friends to 'High Church and King' doctrines. The effects I myself have witnessed would certainly induce me, had I to decide on the University to which any young protégé of mine should go, were he by natural temper or any other causes too prone to excess on the Tory side, I should decidedly send him to Cambridge, Trinity; were the opposite the case he should be fixed at Oriel, Oxford."²

Bishop Christopher Wordsworth has been described as "one of the truest successors and representatives of the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century. . . . He had their learning, their literary diligence, their firm grasp of Catholic truth, their uncompromising

¹ *Minor Theological Works*, ii, p. 6.

² *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, 1897, p. 157.

hostility to Popery, their resistance to Puritanism, their distrust of Latitudinarianism, their wholesome way of knowing what they meant and saying it, their courage, their manliness."¹

Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was an undergraduate at Trinity College in 1827. It was the time when Hugh James Rose occupied the University pulpit. Wordsworth remained at Cambridge until 1836, when he became Head Master of Harrow School. His theological outlook may be seen in the book which he published in 1843, and which reached a fifth edition in 1847, entitled *Theophilus Anglicanus*, or instruction for the young student concerning the Church and the Anglican branch of it. It was a work of considerable importance in its time, widely read by High Churchmen of that date, and illustrating the type of Churchmanship which would naturally harmonize with the principles of the Tractarian Revival. The entire work is based on the principle that the Church is a visible Institution, founded by Jesus Christ in order that through it should be declared the manifold wisdom of God. While it is speculatively conceivable *a priori* that General Councils might err, it is to be believed *a posteriori* that actually they have not erred in anything which, having been decreed by them, has been universally received in the Church. Within this Universal Church is the Word of God, of which the Church is a witness and a keeper. "The Church and the Bible are both from God: the one is God's Kingdom, the other is His Word." And while the Church may never teach as necessary to salvation what it has not received from Christ and His Apostles, and may not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another, yet "the doctrinal

¹ F. Meyrick, *Memories*, 1905, p. 247.

interpretations of God's Word, which have been generally declared and received by the Universal Church from the beginning . . . are justly concluded to be true." These are ascertainable partly from the Creeds, the Liturgies, and the practice of the Church. The Sacraments and Ministry are regarded as intimately connected. For if the Sacraments are divinely created, the ministry also is divinely determined. Wordsworth maintains "the Divine Institution of Episcopacy." The Bishops succeeded and represent the Holy Apostles. The succession of the chief pastors to the Apostles appears to have been directly authorized by Christ. Wordsworth added that the fact that the Episcopate was a Divine Institution is confirmed by its uninterrupted continuance for more than fifteen hundred years; and further by the fact that during those centuries those who separated still retained the Episcopal ministry.

Between teaching of this kind and the teaching of the Oxford Tractarians on the subject of the Church and the Ministry the harmony is unmistakable.

The revival of Catholic principles in Cambridge was considerably promoted by a distinguished writer whose subsequent career was by no means identified with Anglo-Catholicism, namely, Frederick Denison Maurice. His earliest, and in some respects his most important work is his three volumes of *Letters to a Quaker on the Kingdom of Christ*. This was published in 1836. It is a singular fact that this work contains a criticism of Dr. Pusey's teaching on Holy Baptism, and resulted in alienating Maurice from the Oxford Movement; but it also contains an elaborate argument for the perpetuation of priesthood in the Christian Church, which is a powerful reply, on Catholic principles of the ministry, against Protestant ideas. Thus, while Maurice became person-

ally alienated from the Oxford leaders, he ardently defended a vital doctrine of the Oxford Revival.

Criticizing the thesis that the idea of priesthood became obsolete the moment the true High Priest and Mediator assumed his functions, Maurice declared that because the High Priest, of whom the priests in the Jewish dispensation were living prophecies, is come, the character of the priesthood is necessarily changed, but preserves its existence under this new modification. He denied that priesthood was abolished, or that any better method can be invented for showing how far the Christian religion surpasses the Jewish, than the method of accommodating the old scheme to the new circumstances. "As the priest of the old dispensation witnesses that men have separated themselves from God, and that they must be reunited by sacrifice; the priest of the new dispensation witnesses that Christ, through the Eternal Spirit, hath offered Himself up to God, and that with that sacrifice God is well pleased; the one declares the need of a purification, the other that the Spirit is given to purify; the one tastes of the sacrifice as the pledge of a communion hereafter to be established with man, the other feeds the people with it as the pledge of a communion already consummated; one gives the token of peace, which assures the penitent worshipper that a particular transgression shall not be imputed to him, the other gives the white stone of absolution, which makes him feel that the principle and law of sin within him is destroyed. Now, if God judged it sufficient by words to announce one set of these truths, let words be sufficient to announce the other. . . . If this understanding was imparted according to God's ordinance, by the presence of a priest in ancient days, what has happened to make another way of imparting it more

expedient now? The revelation of the glory and dignity of humanity, by the resurrection and ascension of the Son of God, hath not made it less consistent with reason and principle that man should be the instrument in communicating God's blessings than it was heretofore. . . . Nor . . . does the demonstration which Christianity has afforded, that God is Himself the source of all life and goodness in His creatures, and that man must humble himself to the position of a mere receiver, make it less intelligible that God should ordain a set of human instruments, who, only because they are so ordained, become capable of transmitting His mercies to the members of His Church."¹

Replying to the exclusive insistence of Barclay, the Quaker apologist, on an inward call, Maurice insisted that the inward call must be supplemented by the outward commission. The tribal priesthood of Israel was, he contended, "carried into a higher region, when the universal dispensation succeeded to the national . . . when the authority was no longer entailed to family descent, but was transmitted from one generation to another, merely by the imposition of hands. We say, that if there was need to affirm the unity of Christ's body, and the living connection of different ages in Him, under the Jewish or national dispensation, that necessity has not ceased under the Christian or Catholic dispensation; that if a regular sequence among those who were the outward and living witnesses of Christ's presence was the means chosen by God for making this affirmation, we can have no right or reason to substitute any other." "Such," adds Maurice, "is the principle of the Apostolical Succession."

"We hold that every Bishop, being rightfully ordained,

¹ F. D. Maurice, *The Kingdom of Christ*, 1836, ii., pp. 148, 150-152.

holds his office directly and immediately under Christ as the first Apostles did. This is implied in the succession, this is an essential part of the idea. The permanence of this office is the perpetual witness of Christ's presence in the Church."

"Such is our constitution, bearing, we conceive, the marks of a celestial origin."

"We affirm that there is a certain constitution established in the Church, which fits it to be a universal body, existing in all ages, diffused through all nations, subject to no limitations of time or space. That element in this constitution, which expressly and emphatically gives it this character, is the Episcopal element."¹

This exposition of ministerial principles gave material support at Cambridge to the teaching which was distinctive of the Oxford Movement.

¹ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 179.

I

THE EARLY TRACTARIANS IN CAMBRIDGE

THE Catholic Revival found a home in Cambridge University chiefly through the influence of two outstanding priests—Hugh James Rose and William Hodge Mill.

The Rev. Hugh James Rose, of Trinity College, was selected preacher before the University as early as 1825, when his sermons "On the State of Protestant Religion in Germany" made a deep impression. His Catholic convictions were made unmistakably plain in these utterances. He declared that: "It is indeed with sincere regret that one so often finds such inadequate and low views of our Church government taken even by those who mean to be its defenders. The only correct ground is, that Episcopacy is the originally appointed and *sole* way of transmitting the commission to teach mankind and administer the Christian ordinances; a commission which is essential to the Christian ministry, and which, to be valid, must proceed from the great Head of the Church, through that channel in which his Apostles, whom he authorized for the purpose, originally placed it."¹

In the following year he delivered a memorable series of sermons "On the Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy." It contains a very definite exposition of the principle of the Apostolic Succession.

¹ H. J. Rose, *State of Protestantism in Germany*, 1829, p. 225.

He drew the distinction, now very familiar, between the miraculous gifts in which the Apostles "had not and could not have any successors" and the ministerial gifts: "to ordain a succession of the great administrators of Christ's Church." In this latter "they were, would be, must be succeeded."¹ Rose took great care to show the strength of the Anglican tradition in this subject, however strangely that tradition had become forgotten in the early years of the nineteenth century. The work reached a fourth edition in 1847.

The influence of Hugh James Rose on the undergraduates was great. Among his hearers were George Selwyn, Apostle of New Zealand, Bishop Abraham, and George Williams, the founder of the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity. Bradshaw described the preacher as "the man who, of all Cambridge men of that time, was the leading spirit in the great Church revival." Dean Burgon's estimate is that "if to any one man is to be assigned the honour of having originated the great Catholic Revival of our times, that man was Hugh James Rose."²

Yet Rose was very sensitive of loneliness in Cambridge. He was compelled to get support for his journalistic efforts from Oxford. "I could get no help whatever from Cambridge. What help could I get equal to Keble . . . Newman, Froude, Hook . . .? I love Cambridge to my heart: but divinity is not her tower of strength just now."

It was at Rose's rectory of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, that the well-known conference was held in 1833. This meeting has been called "an important landmark in the early history of the Tractarian Movement."

¹ Rose, *Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy*, 1828, p. 50.

² Burgon, *Twelve Good Men*, i., pp. 141-2.

Rose was in constant correspondence with the Oxford men, and particularly with Newman, whose gradual unsettlement he was quick to perceive.

When Newman began to speak in unduly disparaging terms of the condition of the English Church, Rose replied expressing his own firm convictions of its essential catholicity.

“You must let me believe that though there is not the glare and glitter round my Mother’s sober brow which exists elsewhere—there *is* what will win all hearts and charm all eyes which will study her countenance, and are capable of improvement—of reverence—of affection: that shows a true daughter and co-heiress of that ancient House—*with all the family lineaments on her face, and no small portion of the family jewels in her keeping.*”¹

This memorable letter gives great significance to the terms in which Newman dedicated a volume of his sermons to Rose. It was Rose “who (according to Newman’s dedication), when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true Mother.”

Burton calls Rose “the Restorer of the Old Paths,” “An able maintainer of Apostolic Order and Vindicator of half-forgotten Church principles.” Rose died in 1838, five years after the date when the Tractarian Movement is usually said to have begun, but his influence in that direction had been great, and was perpetuated among his hearers.

A second important influence in the Revival at Cambridge was Dr. W. H. Mill. Preaching before the University in 1849, Dr. Mill, Regius Professor of Hebrew, discussed the relation between the temporal

¹ Burton, *Twelve Good Men*, i., p. 219.

and the spiritual powers. He warned his hearers of the tendency "increasing in the political world to make the Sovereign power in each State the mere exponent of a collective will, more and more indifferent to all the matters of faith on which religion rests; extending also its indifference . . . even to the inclusion of elements that are not Christian. If this progress be indeed inevitable, the Church must submit to it: but demanding withal, as the merest reason and justice requires, that in proportion as the State, as such, is apart from her—the interference of civil authority with her proper province, the moral and spiritual guidance of her own members should be abated or withdrawn."

After the Gorham Judgment on Baptism in 1850, Dr. Mill preached in the plainest terms in the University pulpit. The subject was "Human Policy and Divine Truth," the text being the words "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." He applied that prayer to the Privy Council Decision. "Those surely know not what they do, who would seriously attempt to make these opposite systems amalgamate with each other; or, what is equivalent to amalgamation, would represent both as equally compatible with our hallowed formularies." "They are most eminently unaware of what they do, who seek peace by compromise in any matter of essential doctrine, whatever it be."

"If while any, even the most inconsiderable dissentient sect, is allowed its independent religious jurisdiction and superintendence of its spiritual concerns—the distinction of the *Established* Church, and the Church which holds the ancient Catholic Sees of this land, is maintained to be this—that she alone is bound to obey, in all the concerns of religion, the behest of a

power, in principle different if not alien to her, and not necessarily so much as Christian—then to submit to this view of her character is impossible, and to remain at the same time a component member of Christ's mystical body."

In the fateful year 1850 Dr. Mill, together with others, relieved his mind by issuing the following declaration:

"We do hereby declare—

"1. That we have hitherto acknowledged and do now acknowledge the supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters to be a supreme civil power over all persons and causes in temporal things, and over the temporal accidents of spiritual things.

"2. That we do not, and in conscience cannot, acknowledge in the Crown the power recently exercised, to hear and judge in appeal the internal state or merits of spiritual questions, touching doctrine or discipline, the custody of which is committed to the Church alone by the law of Christ.

"We therefore, for the relief of our own consciences, hereby publicly declare that we acknowledge the royal supremacy in the sense above stated, and in no other."

The determining principle in controversy was for Mill the consent of the Church. He taught from the University pulpit that on doctrines which possess the sanction of that Holy and Universal Society, to which the promise of Christ assures an unfaded permanence in the world, the truly Catholic Christian will have pleasure in reposing.¹

Dr. Mill in 1858 defended non-communicating

¹ *Observations on Pantheistic Principles*, 1855, pp. 311-2.

attendance at the Holy Eucharist in terms cautious indeed, but unusual at that date. "I would not conceive those persons to be excluded from the benefits of the Eucharistic offering whose presence is intended to express their sympathy with the act; who feel strongly that it is better to be with the communicants than with those who turn their backs upon them, while prevented from any cause satisfactory to their own conscience, and not offensive to others, from participating with the reverence they feel due to the Body and Blood of the Lord. I cannot but think they are included, if they are duly sensible of the great blessing and privilege of actual communion, and are not in any way seeking excuses for standing aloof from it."¹

Another strong and persistent supporter at Cambridge of the Catholic Revival was the celebrated controversial historian Samuel Roffey Maitland. He had been brought up as a Nonconformist. At Cambridge he was an intimate friend of W. H. Mill at Trinity College. He was a frequent contributor, in association with Hugh James Rose, from 1835, in the *British Magazine*. His learning and acuteness made him a very formidable controversialist. He held the position of Librarian at Lambeth Palace. The appearance of a new edition of that treasury of Protestant hagiography, Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, provoked Maitland to subject that well-known work to the most merciless criticism. This was in 1837. Maitland was too much for his opponents. In his best known work, on the Dark Ages, which appeared in 1844, Maitland drew pictures of the life and the learning and the literature of the Monasticism of the Middle Ages, presenting to the public mind of the

¹ Quoted from *Ecclesiologist*, 1858, p. 180; also in *Theological Papers of W. R. Churton*, p. 93.

early nineteenth century conclusive evidence how distorted and prejudiced the ordinary English estimate had been and still continued to be. He dwelt on the invaluable contribution both to secular and religious life of the past made by the great religious institutions.

“It is quite impossible to touch the subject of Monasticism without rubbing off some of the dirt which has been heaped upon it. It is impossible to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe, without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the Monastic Orders; and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, Monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where (it may be imperfectly, yet better than elsewhere) God was worshipped—as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow—as central points where agriculture was to spread over bleak hills, and barren downs, and marshy plains, and deal bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train—as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs for the learning which was to be—as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means, and the reward to invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise, and every hand that could execute—as the nucleus of the city which in after days of pride should crown its palaces and bulwarks with the towering cross of its cathedral.

“This, I think no man can deny. I believe it is true, and I love to think of it. I hope that I see the good hand of God in it, and the visible trace of His mercy that is over all His works. But if it is only a

dream, however grateful, I shall be glad to be awakened from it; not indeed by the yelling of illiterate agitators, but by a quiet and sober proof that I have misunderstood the matter. In the meantime, let me thankfully believe that thousands of the persons at whom Robertson, and Jortin, and other such very miserable second-hand writers have sneered, were men of enlarged minds, purified affections, and holy lives—that they were justly revered by men—and above all, favourably accepted by God, and distinguished by the highest honour which He vouchsafes to those whom He has called into existence, that of being the channels of His love and mercy to their fellow-creatures.”¹

It is true that, in spite of this appreciation of Monasticism in the past, Maitland did not see his way to support proposals for its revival in modern conditions. But this was partly due to the fact that the idea presented to him was a Community without vows, and therefore, as he felt, without the forces in which the secret of its effectiveness really lay. Still, his appreciation of the place of Monasticism in history was very memorable at the date when it was written, and was entirely against Protestant undervaluings and in defence of the Catholic cause.

Five years after his book on the Dark Ages Maitland published his book on the Reformation (1849). This also was designed to correct the Puritan tradition.

With regard to Tractarians in general, Maitland was on their side, although he was unable to agree with their estimate of the mystical interpretation of Scripture in *Tract* 89.

¹ S. R. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 1844, pp. iv., v.

II

CAMBRIDGE TRACTARIANS IN THE TOWNS AND COUNTRY

THE Rev. William Dodsworth, of Trinity College, graduated at Cambridge in 1820. He was originally an Evangelical, but was drawn to Tractarian principles, and became Vicar of Christ Church, Albany Street, about 1837, a church which Pusey had largely helped to build. In his parish, through the united efforts of the Vicar, Dr. Pusey, and Lord John Manners, afterwards Duke of Rutland, the first Anglican Sisterhood since the Reformation was formed. It was only a little group, but it was the beginning of greater things. Dodsworth was himself a popular preacher, and the Catholic Revival seemed to prosper. Then came that unhappy Privy Council decision in the Gorham case on Baptism in 1850. Dodsworth and many others signed resolutions in which it was declared that the Church of England will be eventually bound by that sentence unless it shall openly and expressly reject the erroneous doctrines sanctioned thereby. For Dodsworth himself the Gorham Judgment led to his hopeless unsettlement and to his secession to the Roman Church.

John Mason Neale went into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1836, and formed an intimate friendship with Benjamin Webb, afterwards Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wells Street. The Oxford Tracts produced great excitement in Cambridge. Tractarianism

became to Neale an inspiration. The two friends founded the Cambridge Camden Society with its interest in church architecture, Neale being Chairman and Webb the Secretary.

The address of its President, published by the Cambridge Camden Society in 1842, called on Churchmen to reflect "how essentially the principles of Christian architecture are mixed up with the elements of the faith to which it ministers; how inevitable at any rate is the contact of history and doctrine with the consideration of the construction of the material fabric." The address insisted that "if it be right to redeem the Holy Table from the disgusting profanation to which it is too commonly exposed, it may in the next place be a legitimate question with what decent covering it shall be decked, with what outward reverence it shall be treated, by what name it may be innocently called. If we are all agreed that Holy Baptism ought not to be administered (as has been too often done) in houses, but in the face of the congregation, and in a Font of such material as the Canon requires, it may cease to be considered a mark of superstition to agitate for the restoration of that Font to that part of the church where alone it symbolizes the rite it serves to administer.

"Surely it cannot be denied that the cold rejection of everything decorative or symbolical from our churches forms a painful contrast between our age, and those in which men neglected their own houses to magnify that of God; when with all their faults of ignorance and superstition they were at any rate more spiritually-minded and less worldly-minded; when those who built churches and those who prayed in them, saw in the very stones and walls nothing that

did not remind them of some great Christian truth or doctrine. . . .”

The Cambridge Camden Society was a restorer of churches. In particular it placed a stone altar in the Church of St. Sepulchre, which provoked considerable opposition.

The Rev. Francis Close, Rector of Cheltenham, preached a sermon in which he declared that “Romanism was taught analytically at Oxford and artistically at Cambridge. It is inculcated theoretically in Tracts at one University and is sculptured, painted, and graven, at the other. The Cambridge Camdensians build churches and furnish symbolic vessels, by which the Oxford Tractarians may carry out their principles.”

During the critical time which followed on Newman's secession, Neale and Webb were in constant correspondence.¹ When rumours of that secession arose, Webb confided in Neale that, if it were to happen, he would feel despair for any revival in our Communion. “To eject the holiest among us; to cripple every struggle for anything high or noble by pointing to Newman; to give strength and triumph to the Protestant principle—it will be to lose the last remaining note.” Neale, however, steadied his pessimistic friend. “Your news about Cambridge matters grieves me much, and I should feel some difficulty how to deal with those whose secession you fear. At the same time, I feel that if they do go, they will be less excusable than the Oxford seceders. They have not to contend against Newman's immense personal influence.” “I am sure no man ought to leave us till he has been in the practice of regular confession.” Neale told Webb that his own conviction was that the first generation

¹ *Letters of J. M. Neale*, pp. 78 ff.

of reformers might perhaps be absorbed by Rome, but that the second would remain in the Church of England and reform it. "I am quite sure," added Neale, "that if we don't desert ourselves, God will not desert us. If you all go, I shall stay. If Andrewes is not saved (who had far less reason than we have to remain) there are so few that will be, that really it can matter little whether one goes or not." By that letter Webb was greatly comforted.

So Neale settled down to his humble lifelong ministrations in the Chapel of Sackville College, East Grinstead. He was deeply convinced that the tendency of the Movement of 1833 was not to Rome, and saw accurately into the national character when he observed that Englishmen will always understand a fact better than a doctrine.¹

Neale as the Chaplain of Sackville College is entirely eclipsed by Neale as the founder of the Sisterhood of St. Margaret, East Grinstead. His original idea was to bring religion into the villages of Sussex by means of Nursing Sisters (1854).² But for sixteen years Neale had been disapproved of and inhibited by his Bishop.

Neale was the greatest promoter of Anglican interests in Catholicism of an Eastern type by his monumental *History of the Holy Eastern Church*. He placed at the disposal of English Churchmen a knowledge of the Orthodox Church, which opened out wholly new ideas and did much to broaden our insularity. It was through Neale that Englishmen were made to face the existence of a Christianity intensely Catholic yet emphatically not Roman or Papal in the least degree.

Then there is the service which he rendered to English Church devotion by his hymns. Speaking about

¹ *Letters*, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 329.

these, Neale wrote: "Of this you may be sure, that I did not write a syllable in them with an uncatholic intent; and of this also, that any passage which strikes any Catholic judge as having an uncatholic appearance, I will alter at once without disputing about it."¹

On vestments Neale observed in 1846: "I know very well that we are determined to make Edward VI's rubric bring in a Chasuble; the only question is, whether we are ripe for it. For a Cope there is no doubt we are. To begin with, a Cope does not preclude, but rather exceedingly helps, getting on to a Chasuble. . . . The great use of a Cope is, it strikes me, to accustom our people to coloured Vestments; once do that, and do it on such irrefragable Anglican grounds as we have, and the Chasuble follows without a difficulty."²

His deep conviction of the character of the English Church is expressed in the often quoted lines:

"And many an earnest prayer ascends from
many a hidden spot
And England's Church is Catholic, though
England's self is not."³

"He died, worn out with incessant work, at the early age of forty-eight, leaving behind him the reputation of being one of the most learned theologians, one of the most erudite scholars, one of the best linguists, one of the sweetest hymnodists, and perhaps the foremost liturgicist of his time. The versatility of his powers was astonishing; and it may be doubted if his capacity and his fondness for hard intellectual labour was ever exceeded."⁴

¹ *Letters*, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *The Ecclesiologist*, 1861.

The Rev. Benjamin Webb, after leaving Cambridge, spent the principal part of his ministry, from 1862-1886, as Vicar of St. Andrew's, Wells Street. It was said of him that his Anglicanism was equally incapable of compromise and of excess. He invariably adopted the Eastward Position, but felt that the introduction of Eucharistic Vestments would be inopportune. But he maintained the Daily Sacrifice. Beginning in 1881 he edited the *Church Quarterly Review*.¹

His church was not distinguished for ceremonial. What he introduced was marked by simplicity. But he was far in advance of the standard which was usual at that time. Where he excelled was in his keen appreciation of the value of music in the Sanctuary. He lavished on Eucharistic devotion a wealth of musical expression to which the parish churches of England were completely strangers. If the ceremonial was simple the music was not.

It was this which made his church a centre of attraction. And many a worshipper learnt there a new conception of Anglican devotion. During his long incumbency he taught from the pulpit steadily and persistently the Faith, and did much to restore to his educated, and somewhat eclectic, congregation many a neglected or forgotten Truth.

J. B. Dykes, the composer of so many popular hymn tunes, was an undergraduate at St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, in 1843. He was brought up in an Evangelical household, but became, as his biographer says, "a High Churchman, as he could not help being, and with a touch of the ascetic temper too."² He became precentor of Durham Cathedral, and afterwards

¹ *C. Q. R.*, January, 1886, p. 462.

² *Life of J. B. Dykes*, p. 66.

Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham. "The Church has made," said Dykes, "in these latter days, a grand mistake, *i.e.*, in the neglect of the externals of worship, and the sooner she sets herself to work to correct her error on this head, the better." He went so far as to say that "it is really comparatively little use preaching Doctrine, if you don't *act* Doctrines, outward and visible expression in Ritual." But trouble was approaching. In a neighbouring parish "the Bishop of Durham refused to license a curate unless the rector abandoned the use of the invocation before the sermon."

Somewhat later the Bishop of Durham refused to license any curate unless the incumbent and the curate would both give a written pledge that the latter "shall never wear a coloured Stole; never have anything to do with Incense; and never stand with his back to the congregation at the Eucharist except when ordering the Bread." Beresford Hope sought counsel's opinion. Three eminent lawyers—J. D. Coleridge, H. J. Stephens, and Charles Bowen—replied: "We are of opinion that the Bishop has no such right." But the Court of Queen's Bench refused to interfere with the discretionary powers claimed by a Bishop. Dykes replied to the Bishop: "I have no alternative but to decline most respectfully, but firmly, to sign, or require a curate to sign, any such document whatever. The request is one which your Lordship has no right to make, and I have no right to grant." Dykes claimed that resistance to authority may become a duty, and that the Bishop's teaching about the Eucharist appeared to him irreconcilable with the teaching of Holy Scripture, of the Church of England, and of the Primitive Church.

William John Butler, afterwards founder of the great Community of Wantage, and Dean of Lincoln, was a

Cambridge man. He was a Scholar of Trinity College in 1836. It is not quite easy to determine the respective influence of his home, his University, and his subsequent friendship with Oxford leaders upon the course of his religious development. He was brought up religiously in the school of old-fashioned orthodox churchmanship. He was deeply impressed while at College by what he calls the "surpassing beauties" of Keble's *Christian Year*. C. J. Vaughan, who was his most intimate friend during a good part of his Cambridge career, says that he had "not yet developed into the devotion of his maturer life."¹

The published records of his religious development leave much indeterminable. But it seems clear that it was in his curacy at Dogmersfield that his Catholic principles matured through the influence of his rector, the Rev. Charles Dyson. Dyson was "a firm though quiet supporter of the Oxford Movement." He introduced Butler to several of the Oxford leaders, to Keble, and to Charles Marriott. Butler is found in eager correspondence with Keble, taking Dr. Pusey as his confessor, feeling keenly about the necessity for periodical retreats, and writing about priesthood with a maturity of reflection which shows that these priestly conceptions were no novelty to him, although but recently ordained. He submitted his sermons to Keble for advice and correction.

Bishop Wilberforce said that Butler combined the good of the Evangelical party with the devotion of the High Church more than almost any young man he knew.

Deeply pained by the Gorham Judgment, Butler saw Manning secede, followed by the Mother Superior of

¹ *Life and Letters of W. J. Butler*, 1897, p. 5.

the Community which he had founded. "If he ever wavered and felt doubtful as a member of the Church of England it was then. Not that he for one moment contemplated joining the Church of Rome: but he was shaken in his faith in his own communion."

Writing to Keble, Butler said: "It seems to me that it is my duty either to leave the Established Church or to give up life, and everything else if needful, to work towards her restoration."

There was a poor mission in an insignificant house in Marylebone, to which a little group resorted. It bore the venerated name of St. Cyprian. Somehow, while other missions in the great city matured into magnificent churches, this mission, although its ceremonial was thoroughly Catholic and its work invaluable, could not mature into any abiding Sanctuary. It was a centre of real devotion; the Eucharistic Sacrifice was perpetual, the teaching earnest and good, yet no permanent church was built for years. The priest in charge of this mission room, for it was nothing more, was the Rev. Charles Gutch, D.D., Senior Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, undergraduate in 1844. Here for thirty years he persevered in solitary labour. Sometimes from other churches—from Christ Church, Albany Street, among the number—curates were permitted to go and help him. Pusey sent Charles Gutch to St. Saviour's, Leeds, during the troubles in 1849; offered to make him vicar, but Gutch declined. He was for several years at All Saints', Margaret Street. Robert Linklater of Holy Trinity, Stroud Green, wrote a memoir of him. Charles Gutch was a real preacher of the Faith. He insisted, in terms which remind the reader of Bishop Pearson's appeal to the Primitive Church, and Professor Blunt's Cambridge Lectures on

the right use of the Fathers, that Evangelical leaders had been limited by the horizon of the sixteenth century. They venerated the martyred Reformers, but accepted their private opinions as conclusive, and regarded them as Fathers in the Faith to the neglect of Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, to whom, nevertheless, the Reformers themselves appealed as authoritative. Dr. Gutch complained that large important elements of the Faith had been omitted. "The Divine commission of the priesthood, the influence of the Holy Ghost received by the imposition of the Bishop's hands, and the uninterrupted succession of those Bishops from the Apostles—were scarcely ever, if at all, put forward as a real mark of the Church, and urged as her great claim upon the obedience and the love of the people." He maintained that as the result of past neglect there was a mighty famine in the land. And then men came to themselves. "There was a great reaction—a revival—and surely such a revival as has never been vouchsafed to any branch of the Church." This revival was the work of God.

When pointing to the formularies of Absolution in the Book of Common Prayer, the priest at St. Cyprian's asked his people: "What is more likely to drive a person out of our Church than to be told that these plain doctrines of the Prayer Book are unscriptural and wrong: only Roman?" It made a penitent disposed to say, if I cannot get this grace from my appointed pastors I must go elsewhere for it.

III

THE IMPARTIALITY OF CONNOP THIRLWALL, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S

CONNOP THIRLWALL, Bishop of St. David's, had been Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was, of course, very far removed from Tractarian principles. But he treated the Tractarians with an impartiality strikingly contrasted with the tone of the majority of the Episcopate at that time. It has been said of him that in all questions affecting the Church at large "he elaborated his decision unembarrassed by considerations of party, of his own order, of public opinion." He has been called "a man of judicial mind, without passions or prejudice, and fearless in the expression of his views. At periods of great excitement he often took the unpopular side." The accuracy of this estimate of Thirlwall's character is certainly verified by his first Charge to his Diocese on the Tractarian Controversy in 1842. He reminded Englishmen that the Church of England was comprehensive, and insisted that if the position which the English Church has taken up as a Reformed Church is correctly described as a mean between two extremes, "it appears to be an inevitable consequence—so long as human nature continues what it is—that some of her members should incline towards one extreme, others towards its opposite, though all sincerely and equally attached to her doctrine and fellowship." He insisted that, if we are not ashamed

of this character of moderation which distinguishes the Church of England, we must be content to pay the price in the occasional collision of parties, and this view of the case ought undoubtedly to operate as a constant motive to mutual forbearance. Applying these maxims to the Tractarians, he urged that "there seems to be no reason to suspect that the mass of those with whom their principles have found favour, are not heartily attached to the Church in her present form, or that they are dissatisfied with the language of her formularies, or desirous of any change in her public worship, nor perfectly consistent with her existing Canons and Rubrics."¹

Bishop Thirlwall went on to say that much offence and alarm had been caused by statements with regard to the relation between Scripture and Tradition which had been put forward on one side as neglected and almost forgotten truths, and condemned on the other as a verbal abandonment of a fundamental principle of the English Reformation. On this controversy Thirlwall observed that there was no dispute as to the nature of the supreme authority in matters of faith. That authority was acknowledged on both sides to be the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. What was questioned was whether any record of that teaching is to be found beside that which is contained in Holy Writ. "Those who have most magnified the authority of Tradition have proceeded on the supposition, express or implied, that the Tradition they speak of has preserved a portion of that teaching."

The main dispute, however, is whether the Scripture requires an interpreter. "Here," said Thirlwall, "the divergence between the opposing Schools seems great.

¹ *Charges of Bishop Thirlwall*, pp. 28-32.

Yet it is admitted on both sides that the right understanding of Scripture is not to be attained by the exercise of unassisted reason; and that it depends on a certain measure of spiritual illumination; and that persons who come to the study of Scripture generally bring with them notions and impressions derived from early instruction." Moreover, it was admitted on the side opposed to the Tractarians that there are many useful guides to the truth besides the Scriptures, of which the writings of the early Fathers are one. Consequently the difference between the two Schools as to Scripture and Tradition was nothing like so irreconcilable as men had often represented it to be.

On the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession in the ministry the Bishop of St. David's was not less luminously clear and outspoken.

"It is not, I believe, disputed by anyone, that what is called the high doctrine of the Apostolical Succession (including—*i.e.*, not only the historical fact that the ministry of our Church is derived by uninterrupted descent from the Apostles, but likewise that it was established by them as a permanent and unalterable institution, to be continued according to certain invariable regulations), I say it is hardly disputed that this doctrine has been held by so large a part of our best divines, and has received so much apparent countenance from the anxiety shown to preserve the succession when it was in danger of interruption, that it would be unreasonable to complain of it as a novelty, or even to represent it as being now exclusively held by a particular school."

Bishop Thirlwall even advanced to a further stage beyond that of the Apostolic Succession, to the relation between the minister and the Sacrament. Quoting

Arnold's opinion that men may hold Episcopacy to be divine but yet utterly reject the notion of its being essential to the efficacy of the Sacraments, Thirlwall remarks that, "if any one believes that the ministerial commission may be traced through the Apostles to the Head of the Church, and that it was originally designed to comprehend the administration of the Sacraments, then he will be naturally led to consider the character of the minister as a part of the ordinance; and it will follow, that he cannot look upon it as altogether immaterial, whether this part be absent or not; he will not venture to say that the ordinance would be, to all intents and purposes, the same without it; and this he might express by saying that the Apostolical Succession is requisite for the *due application of it*."

IV

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY TRINITY

THE Revival in Cambridge was not entirely the work of isolated individuals. The need was felt of association in a common purpose. The S.T.C. (*Sanctæ Trinitatis Confraternitas*) was founded in 1857 by the Rev. George Williams, Senior Fellow of King's College.

Fr. Russell of St. Alban's, Holborn, records that in 1863 the High Church undergraduate at Cambridge had not much choice of spiritual guides. The only organization for his religious benefit was the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity, "at that time under the presidency of the Rev. George Williams, Senior Fellow of King's, a man of great learning and real piety, and profoundly interested in the Eastern Church. Those of us who had the courage to brave out the frost of a far from encouraging manner found at last beneath it a warm and sympathetic heart. At his rooms we met from time to time for prayer and the study of theology, and—so far as our awe of him allowed—for discussion."¹

Certainly George Williams was exceptionally keen to promote reunion between the English Church and the Orthodox Church. His interest in the cause of reunion was well known. He was appropriately nominated by Archbishop Howley in 1841 as Chaplain to Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem. In his work on the Orthodox

¹ Russell, *Life of Bishop Smythies*, p. 10.

Church of the East, printed in 1868, Williams published the correspondence between the Eastern Patriarchs and the Nonjurors of the eighteenth century. He criticized with great severity the anomalies of the Nonjurors' position, while acknowledging that they deserve more credit than has usually been accorded to them for their undeviating, uncompromising adherence to their own honest convictions at all hazards. But he maintained that their position was utterly untenable, and questioned whether they were adequately qualified to represent fairly the Catholic aspect of the Reformed Anglican Church. With regard to the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem, he appealed to the terms of the commendatory letter addressed to the Eastern Patriarchs by the Metropolitan of Canterbury, which expressly stated that Bishop Alexander was charged not to intermeddle in any way with the jurisdiction of the Eastern Prelates. The actual manner, however, in which that Mission had been conducted led Williams to say: "If then the operations of this peaceful Mission have been utterly contrary to what was designed; if instead of contributing to heal the divisions of Eastern Christendom, it has aggravated them rather; if instead of conciliating the Prelates of the Oriental Church, it has incurred their suspicion and contempt, if not their enmity, by petty aggressions on their lawful jurisdiction—feebly emulating the Latin Propaganda, without the same excuse"—then he claimed that the blame must not be attributed to the Episcopate in England, but must "be at the door of those who are ever eager to bear the responsibility."

George Williams is said to have acquired much influence over Henry Bradshaw, as much, that is, as it is possible for anyone to exercise over an independent and

original man. Still more influence was exercised over him by the preaching of Dr. Mill. "His strong personality, his unfaltering dogmatic teaching, his vast stores of learning, and the modesty and simplicity with which he made use of them, exercised over some minds a strong fascination. Bradshaw was one of those who were thus attracted."¹

The Confraternity of the Holy Trinity during the half century after George Williams' death included among its presidents Churton of King's, Professor Swete, and Professor Stanton. Among its members were Bishop Woodford of Ely, Bishop Mackenzie of Zululand, Bishop Smythies of Zanzibar, Bishop Hicks of Bloemfontein. Many who became well-known exponents of Catholic principles were in their undergraduate days associated with it. There were also some names which it is somewhat surprising to encounter in the list of a Catholic Society. The Confraternity had its fluctuations, and was more definite at one period than at another. It appears that a number of the original members had been already trained in High Church traditions. Professor Stanton's estimate of them was that "the Catholic position of the English Church was not to them an essentially new idea; it had not burst upon them as a surprise, as it had on some among the Tract writers; and consequently they found it easier to preserve their balance of mind, to maintain just proportion among their beliefs."²

In 1878 the Confraternity was attacked in the public Press. Some of its members belonged to the Holy Cross Society. Many of them had signed the petition to Convocation requesting that some of the clergy

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

² Griffinhoofe, *The Story of S.T.C.*

should be duly licensed as priest-confessors. On these grounds the Confraternity was charged with endeavouring to subvert and destroy the Church of England as a Protestant Establishment.

This attack produced a few resignations from the Confraternity of persons who dreaded being labelled as party men. Indeed, the Confraternity felt obliged to dissociate itself not only from the Holy Cross Society, but also from the English Church Union.

On the other hand the Confraternity encouraged Richard William Enraght during his imprisonment at Warwick under the Public Worship Regulation Act, and expressed its sympathy with James Bell Cox of Christ's College, imprisoned for conscience' sake in 1887, by inviting him to become a member.

William Ralph Churton, Fellow of King's, a learned and retiring student, continued George Williams' work on succeeding him as President of the Confraternity (1868-1897). Churton in his retrospect of the work during forty years laid stress on the fact that this Cambridge Confraternity had not thought it advisable to adopt the definite rules of the corresponding society in Oxford. Cambridge is satisfied with recommendations instead of rules.

Among the most memorable of his learned addresses was his lecture on "The Privilege of Non-Communicating Attendance." The lecture was indeed historical rather than purely doctrinal, but the tendency of the exposition is as the title of the subject suggests.

Other influential and distinguished members of the Confraternity were Bishop Woodford and Dean Luckock.

James Russell Woodford, priest, formerly of Pembroke College, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was one of the

eighteen clergy who signed the protest against Archbishop Sumner's condemnation of the Eucharistic teaching of Archdeacon Denison in 1853. He was a member of the English Church Union in its very early days (1860). When he became Bishop of Ely he always wore a cope at his Ordinations.

In his Charge to the Clergy in 1881 Bishop Woodford dwelt on "the painful circumstance that for the first time for many generations in this kingdom we have seen more than one clergyman of unblemished character and acknowledged devotion to the duties of his sacred calling imprisoned for conscience' sake." He regarded the Supreme Court of Appeal as of unsound constitution. Time had only strengthened his conviction that the restoration of peace and good order to the Church was hopeless until the changes introduced into the ancient constitution of these Courts by the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 should be repealed.

As Founder of the Theological College at Ely he promoted definitely Catholic principles among the clergy. His selection of H. M. Luckock to be Principal was the plainest proof of his own decided convictions and of the direction in which he desired his College to mature. Bishop Woodford's Ordination addresses on *The Great Commission* (1886) were not published until after his death. In these addresses he taught his clergy "not to look at Private Confession as the necessary door of approach to Absolution." He would have them "not regard it or speak of it as generally requisite, and not to set it forth as the essential habit of a high spiritual life. It is rather to be regarded as a special remedy for a special sickness, an occasional medicine rather than as the ordinary state of the soul. But on the other hand, there are occasions when the Church of England

distinctly authorizes your people to require of you this spiritual help, and you may not refuse it to them."¹

Herbert Mortimer Luckock, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, afterwards Dean of Lichfield, did invaluable service in the Catholic Revival as Principal of the Theological College at Ely. The subject which of all others he popularized in widely circulated volumes was the Catholic conception of the state of the departed, the intermediate state, and prayers for the dead. During the closing twenty years of the nineteenth century he, probably more than any other single writer, did much to transfigure prevalent ideas about the experience of the soul in the world beyond.

Luckock, when Dean of Lichfield, published a very telling reply to criticisms on what was called the disobedience of the Ritualists. He drew up a really formidable list of defects and negligences on the part of Evangelicals. He declared that the Evangelicals had made very serious omissions in the prayers, "omissions which manifested an utter disregard for historical usage and fitness, as well as for positive directions."² He quoted cases which he had witnessed where at Early Celebrations the whole of the service preceding the Prayer for the Church Militant, including Collect, Epistle, Gospel, and Creed, and been left out. He declared that it had been reported in the papers, and not denied, that the Prayer of Consecration itself had been omitted at the Holy Communion at a church in Paddington, that in other cases wine had been administered without any consecration, that a Bishop of the Church Missionary Society had left out of the Baptismal Service everything which spoke of Regeneration. Luckock went on to ask: "Do the Bishops know of these

¹ P. 75.

² *The Ritual Crisis*, 1899, pp. 10, 19.

things? If they do, it is further asked, Why do they not use their influence to correct such open contempt of the present order?" "The reason why Church neglect of Church order has been passed over by our Rulers is not from indifference, but because they have found themselves heirs of a traditional understanding by which 'the Evangelical Conscience' is allowed to claim immunity, if obligations of a certain character are ignored."

Luckock urged that there was "a pressing call for fair dealing all round." "The priest does not deserve to be stigmatized as lawless, if out of his own deep experience he feels constrained to advise his people in their penitence to come more frequently to confession than some may think the Prayer Book allows; or if at special times he reserve the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and dying; or if he surround the Sacrament of the Altar with a dignity and circumstance which seems to him most befitting the Divine Presence: in all of which cases the law has been held to be doubtful."

At the same time Luckock definitely rejected various matters which he held that the great majority of High Churchmen regarded as inconsistent with the formularies and spirit of the English Church. Among these were the direct invocation of Saints, devotions to the Blessed Virgin, compulsory private Confession, Celebrations with no opportunity to communicate, interpolations in the order of the Liturgy, reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for adoration.

On the other hand, he justified prayers for the faithful departed, maintained the "Real Spiritual Objective Presence," adding that the Anglican Church has been satisfied in her formularies to state the fact of the Divine Presence in the Sacrament, without

attempting to define the manner, which is and must be incomprehensible to finite minds. Luckock further maintained that the Anglican formularies taught the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and that the Ornaments Rubric authorized the use of the Eucharistic Vestments.

On the attitude of the Ritualists towards the decisions of the Law Courts, Dean Luckock remarked "they know and feel that the Establishment of the Church entails a curtailment of freedom. The authority of the State demands recognition, but the way in which it was exercised in the last generation, through the medium of the Privy Council, went far to shatter their confidence. Decisions were given confessedly as judgments of policy, not of law."

"There is a rooted belief in the mind of the laity that the Ritualists are wholly unamenable to Episcopal direction; and this, although they have taken an unqualified oath of obedience. But what is the fact? The oath taken to the Bishop at Ordination is for canonical obedience—*i.e.*, obedience in all things which the Bishop is canonically empowered to command. He may not call upon a Priest to do anything contrary to the plain teaching of the Prayer Book, which has been accepted by this Church and Realm. If, in deference to a generally discredited verdict of a State Court, he should forbid the use of Vestments, which are allowed by a definite rubric of the Church, obedience is not obligatory. If, on the other hand, a Priest introduces additional Services outside the Prayer Book, not therefore having the sanction of the Church and Realm, he must at once obey an Episcopal prohibition, if it is issued to him. For the honour of the clergy, it is well that this distinction should be explained."

Dean Luckock went further. He complained that

there were Bishops who had forfeited all right to enforce obedience by their own disloyalty to the Prayer Book. He instanced an episcopal repudiation of the exhortation about Confession to a priest. Luckock insisted that on the contrary the Prayer Book directs the troubled penitent, if moral secrets weigh heavily upon his conscience, to go to confess them to a discreet minister and get rid of the burden by that Absolution which Christ left with His Church for such a purpose. "No Bishop has a right to undermine its plain teaching."

V

THE REVIVAL IN THE CAMBRIDGE PARISH CHURCHES

THE Catholic Revival in the University was slow to enter the parish churches in the town. The first church to be influenced was that of St. Clement, and is identified for all Cambridge men with the name of the Rev. E. G. Wood. *The Times* recorded at his death that he had been for twenty years curate and for forty-six years vicar of that church. There was no mistake about continuity. From first to last the teaching was the same. E. G. Wood gave undergraduates opportunities for confession when scarcely any other priest in Cambridge did so. There is good authority for saying that probably no priest heard more confessions of undergraduates during the thirty years from 1870 to 1902 than Canon E. G. Wood. It has been said that "to those who knew him ministerially he was the wisest, kindest, and most fatherly of Catholic priests, while at the same time his presence installed that righteous awe of priesthood which the ascetic devotion to vocation so often inspires."

He possessed an almost, if not quite, unrivalled knowledge of the Canon Law of the Church. He knew well the canonical principles by which the affairs of the Church should be ruled. The distinction between the decisions of the Church and the decisions of the State was uncompromisingly defined. The law of the

Church was "not the ecclesiastical law commonly quoted by lawyers and referred to by the greater number of Church dignitaries and officials, which meant nothing more than Privy Council rulings and statute law of Erastian birth, but the Canon Law of the Catholic Church supplemented by the local legislation of the English Provincial Synods." That was one of his constant and earnest contentions. He reminded Churchmen repeatedly that the laws of the State enact that "all existing Canon Law which is not contrary to any statutes of the realm shall be recognized and held to be in force, and as such it can be pleaded, and indeed has been pleaded, in the Law Courts."

Canon E. G. Wood was for many years identified with the Society of the Holy Cross, over which, in three separate periods of three years each, he presided, impressing on his fellow priests the duty of giving sanction to no violation of Canon Law. He insisted that the charge of lawlessness levelled against Catholics was untrue, and arose from ignorance of the Church's settled code of laws. He was constantly consulted in the counsels of the English Church Union and contributed for its guidance many learned and weighty memoranda.

He published singularly little. A thin octavo on the *Regal Power of the Church* appeared in 1888, valuable out of all proportion to its size.

He also printed an important discourse delivered before the University in 1889 on "Theology, the Science of Religion." In this sermon he urged very forcibly the imperative necessity of teaching dogmatic theology. "To teach a man pure positive truth, to teach it in a rational, a clear, a systematic manner, developing each truth as an integral part of a great and perfect whole—that is the best way to arm him against error; better

than a thousand folios of controversy. It is not controversial but pure dogmatic teaching that will enable him to give a reason for the faith that is in him. To teach anyone who is capable of learning anything in such a manner as that is perfectly possible, but it requires scientific culture on the part of the teacher. That, unhappily, is what too many of the clergy are deficient in. However right their own personal belief is, it is but comparatively few who seem to be able to teach luminously, with precision, and without vagueness. The cause is insufficient study of pure theology."

The Revival penetrated by degrees into other churches in the town. At St. Giles' Church it is said that the Eucharist was celebrated weekly since about 1860. Canon Slater, who became vicar in 1875, introduced the Eastward Position and Altar Lights, and celebrated in an alb. There was no chasuble at first. Vestments were given by the undergraduates in 1880, and were worn. It is recorded that several of the village clergy near Cambridge were influenced in an Anglo-Catholic direction by the teaching and example of St. Giles' Church during the time of Canon Slater. A tradition of Catholic ceremonial was established there, of a simple character.

The influence of the Revival was certainly manifest in the Church of All Saints during the time that Luckock was vicar. But the successive vicars have maintained no continuity; indeed, not long ago the church was described as ordinary Anglican.

Little St. Mary's has also varied considerably. It is now remarkable for definite instruction in Catholic principles and for influence over the undergraduates.

There is now a daily Eucharist in St. Clement's, St. Giles', St. Edward's, and St. Luke's.

But there was no parochial centre in Cambridge equivalent for catholicizing influence over the undergraduates corresponding to the power exerted by St. Barnabas', Oxford. It is true that there was a period when lovers of paradox were heard to say that the Oxford Movement was transferred to Cambridge. But the relation of paradox to history is a debatable proposition.

VI

SOME CAMBRIDGE LAYMEN OF THE REVIVAL

AMONG Cambridge laymen associated with the Revival may be mentioned Gerard Francis Cobb, A. J. Beresford Hope, Sir Percival Heywood, and Knight Watson.

Gerard Francis Cobb, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, published in 1868 a volume entitled *The Kiss of Peace, or England and Rome at one on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*. He dedicated the work "to John Henry Newman of the Roman Communion and to Edward Bouverie Pusey of the Anglican Communion," through whose instrumentality more than that of any other living men the author held that the Divine Spirit was carrying on the work of Corporate Reunion. In this work it was reasoned from the Prayer Book teaching that the Church of England maintains the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence in the Holy Eucharist. He pointed out that the same contention was maintained by the Bishop of Salisbury (Hamilton) in the celebrated Charge then recently delivered to his Diocese. The Presence takes place before reception and exists as a fact independently of reception, and consequently takes place at the time of and by virtue of the act of consecration. He maintained that the Church of England does not regard Communion as the primary reason for the Eucharist, but as a secondary, albeit a most important reason. He held that in the

language of the Catechism the Eucharist was ordained for the continual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ; the Church of England "thereby commits her members to the full doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice." He maintained with considerable acuteness and force both the principle of Authority and the Divine character of the Church, and insisted that the Anglican appeal is to the doctrines and practices of the Holy Church Universal, and to the writings of the ancient and godly doctors of the Primitive Church.

A Cambridge layman of very great influence on the progress of the Anglo-Catholic Revival was Beresford Hope, who was at Trinity College in 1844. He published in the *Christian Remembrancer* in 1851 an extremely vigorous article on Oratorianism and Ecclesiology, in which he sharply criticized the liking which John Henry Newman and Frederick William Faber were displaying for Italian architecture and Italian ritualism above anything which was English, so that they idealized the churches built in Rome during the last three centuries and denounced Pugin's Gothic revivals. Beresford Hope declared that "mediæval ritual is anti-Roman, as Rome now is, and this Rome knows full well," and contended therefore that nothing could be more unfortunate than the outcry brought against many of the most active and earnest of the English clergy, even by so-called High Churchmen, that they Romanize when they restore mediæval ritual.

But Beresford Hope's maturer self was shown in his well-known work on *Worship and the Church of England* published in 1874, where he says that for the formation of his views upon Christian antiquity and upon the Church of England he was "mainly indebted to that school of writers whose public notoriety dates from the

commencement of the *Tracts for the Times* in 1833, and who again send us back to seek the fullest exposition of the Voice of the Reformed Church of the land in a succession of English writers, among the earliest of whom stand Hooker and Andrewes, and among the latest Wilson and Butler."

Beresford Hope criticized indeed the almost exclusive interest shown by the Tractarians in instruction by the ear. "The slight appreciation which the Tractarian leaders seem ever to have had of the influence of the eye, or of the senses generally upon human nature, may almost be reckoned as a deficiency, tactically viewed, in their capacity to head a wide movement. At all events it allowed the regulative voice in such matters to pass from their keeping, as has been pleaded in tones of pathetic moderation within the present year of perplexities, by the one venerable survivor of that famous band who still adheres to the Church of England and the University of Oxford."

With regard to presence at the Eucharist without reception Beresford Hope fully recognized and acknowledged that "to substitute gazing for communicating is an error dangerous to the soul's health, and should on all accounts be discouraged. But," he added, "why, when the habitual communicant is for any reason unable to communicate, but at the same time desires to mingle his prayers with those of his brethren and the Church at the Confession and Prayer of Humble Access—to raise the song of praise at the *Ter Sanctus* and the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and humbly to meditate on the mystery of Christ's Death while His minister is showing it forth—why, I say, when he desires all this, he should be expelled from the Church, I never could understand."

This impression of a Cambridge layman in 1874 shows the influence of a new spirit. What many laymen felt about the opposition to the Revival displayed by the authorities of the Church, the following emphatic language shows:

“We all remember the passage in that speech introducing a recent Act which appealed to popular indignation against a Northern clergyman (Dr. Dykes of Durham), who dared to do what Wren and Cosin had done before, and stand before the Holy Table; who dared to do what, later on in the same debates, the Lord Chancellor plainly intimated was his reading of the rubric, that which he was very well justified in doing. Put the insubordination of that clergyman, one who has in his time done good service to the Church of England, at the worst, and then say if his misdeed was so gross as to entitle him to be the one minister of all the Church of England singled out for individual and direct reprobation by the Primate of the Church in an age of Essays and Reviews.”

VII

THREE FAMOUS CAMBRIDGE THEOLOGIANs

THE three great Cambridge leaders in religion during the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century—Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort—were all of them independent of the Oxford Movement. Yet their powerful and extensive influence prepared the way for developments which they did not share. Indeed, it is questionable whether Catholicism would have developed at Cambridge as it actually did since 1888 if it had not been for the united, if largely unconscious, influence of this masterly trio.

Lightfoot, as Professor for nearly twenty years, from 1861 to 1879, by his monumental and unanswered work, re-established the confidence of his generation as to the solid basis in fact on which supernatural religion rests. His labours had an incalculable effect in steadying the uncertainties of the critical spirit. He was, in the estimate of Armitage Robinson, an historian of religion rather than a theologian—an estimate which many would endorse. Dr. Liddon, who greatly valued his gifts and his friendship, left on record his sense of Lightfoot's fairness and impartiality, and at the same time his theological position. When Lightfoot went to Durham in 1879, Liddon remarked that his convictions would not allow him to carry High Church principles into the counsels of the Church. Lightfoot was in Liddon's estimate essentially broad. Lightfoot, he

thought, would not help Church principles, except in this way, that he would be just to everybody.¹

Fenton John Anthony Hort was Fellow of Trinity in 1852 and Professor of Divinity in 1878. He therefore attained his influential position about the time that Lightfoot left Cambridge for Durham. His biographer says that Hort "had been inevitably affected by the forces of the Oxford Movement, though he was throughout alive to the weaknesses as well as the strength of its leaders."²

In his own estimate of his general theological position he wrote: "I have a deeply-rooted agreement with High Churchmen as to the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and, above all, Creeds, though by no means acquiescing in their unhistorical and unphilosophical treatment of theology, or their fears and antipathies generally. The positive doctrines even of the Evangelicals seem to me perverted rather than untrue."³

When requested by Broad Churchmen to combine with them, Hort replied, with reference to the Association which he was asked to join: "My difference from the Association is fundamental. Its leading members apparently take as first principles the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Nation, the subordination of the clergy to the laity, the exclusive justice of popular government, and the like; which are the negations of my most deeply rooted convictions."⁴

"If you want to put down the Ritualists, then no doubt our objects are different. Much as I dislike and despise most of them, I would submit to a great deal for the sake of protecting them."⁵

¹ *Life of Liddon*, pp. 265-6.

³ *Ibid.*, i., p. 400.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 130.

² *Life*, i., p. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 125.

Brooke Foss Westcott became Regius Professor at Cambridge in 1870. He had long been Fellow of Trinity. It is interesting to remember that while Assistant Master of Harrow, he preached in the School Chapel a stirring sermon to the boys on the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and raised the challenging question whether in our time a corresponding devotion would arise. It is memorable that in that congregation was one Charles Gore.

Westcott, as Professor at Cambridge, gave immense support to the faith of undergraduates during those years by his earnest insistence on "the inexhaustible mystery of the Incarnation." That was his own expression. He accustomed his students to approach religious subjects in the light of the Incarnation. He taught that the Incarnation was "the Master-truth of the Gospel." He taught that "Christ took to Himself not a single human life but human nature. Christ is not one man out of the innumerable multitude of men, but man in whom every man can find in union with the Divine nature that which corresponds with his own limited personality." He claimed that no one could prize more highly than himself "the deposit of Christian doctrine which has been committed to our keeping." His faith in the Gospel of the Resurrection, and his treatment of the Revelation of the Risen Lord, were invaluable and inspiring to those whose school instruction in religion left much to be desired.

There were indeed departments of the Faith in which Westcott bewildered rather than illuminated the inquiring undergraduate mind. All men know the good-natured satirical criticisms on his obscurity. None the less it is true that he helped the faith of many in those ultimate foundations on which all religion rests.

His reflections on English Christianity were characteristic and penetrating. He held that "the English Reformation differed essentially from the typical Reformations on the Continent. It was a Reformation and not a reconstruction. It made no attempt to do away with the past." It showed the greatest respect to antiquity. It "corresponded to the English temperament, which is disinclined to seek the completeness of a theological system." "The Settlement was not a compromise but a frank acceptance of differences which were held to be compatible with Apostolic Order and Catholic teaching." On the Evangelical Revival Westcott said that "the Movement was essentially individualistic and subjective." It disciplined hosts of saintly men and women. "But it had no sympathy with the past. It failed to realize the thought of a Catholic society, or Body of Christ, living and learning through the ages. So the Oxford Movement," said Westcott, "endeavoured to supply what was wanting. Its leaders recognized and maintained the continuity of the English Church from the time of the Mission of Augustine. They reaffirmed in faith and practice the objective side of Christianity. . . . They grounded the powers of the Church on Apostolic Succession." "The Evangelical leaders, speaking generally, were without learning; the Oxford leaders were rich in learning but deficient in the power of historical criticism."

Accordingly, in Bishop Westcott's judgment, "however great may have been the services to the English Church of these two complementary movements in deepening and enlarging its life . . . neither is fitted by its inherent character to meet the questions which are forced upon the Church at the present time."

It is hardly surprising if, after this aloof but largely

appreciative estimate, many a disciple of Westcott advanced far beyond the teacher, and supplemented his instructions on the Incarnation with much of those elements of Catholicism which the teacher himself omitted. Stanton and Swete and Armitage Robinson and A. J. Mason are conspicuous examples.

An interesting and contemporary estimate of the tendencies of Cambridge theology in 1881 will be found in the *Church Quarterly Review* for that year. It was observed that Cambridge theology at that date "tended to be of a liberal type, but liberal in a sense which need cause no distrust to those who feel most deeply the duty of watching over the Faith once delivered." Cambridge students of theology, whether resident at the University or elsewhere, were characterized by a desire to learn from every quarter. But this readiness to recognize the manifoldness of Christian life was "combined with a full and firm faith in the grand outline of fact and dogma set forth in the Catholic Creeds. It has been indeed a fundamental and abiding conviction determining the aims of thought and study, that every addition to human knowledge and experience will only serve to illuminate sides which have perhaps hitherto been little heeded of the great central verities of the Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of Christ." An outlook of this nature would at least render the mind receptive towards supplementary religious conceptions.

VIII

SOME DISCIPLES OF THE THREE WHO ADVANCED THE REVIVAL

ARMITAGE ROBINSON, afterwards Dean of Westminster and then of Wells, was Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1893. He was of decided Evangelical antecedents, but did much, through his study of the Fathers, and above all of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, to correct Protestant misconceptions of Scripture, and to promote progress in a Catholic direction. Dr. Armitage Robinson was much more than an historian—he was a theologian. He realized intensely St. Paul's conception of the nature of the Church and that the unity of the Church must be corporate.

No reader of his writings will easily forget his incisive unanswerable refutation of what he described as the mischievous carelessness of expression by which unity of spirit is commonly spoken of in contrast to corporate unity, as though the former might be accepted as a substitute for the latter. Such a theory, he maintained, would have been unintelligible to St. Paul. No separation of body and spirit is contemplated by the Apostle in his conception of Christian unity; and the notion that there could be several bodies with a unity of spirit is entirely alien to St. Paul's thoughts. The Dean was most appropriately chosen as preacher before the Lambeth Conference in 1908. And his sermon on the Vision of Unity was the most characteristic he ever preached.

He had an intense dislike of mere party spirit. He could speak at times in language not only grave but severe of "Churchmen banding themselves together under the beautiful and sacred names of Union or Association, only to accentuate their divisions and to marshal their antagonisms." He could appeal to Christian people: "Must we yield sadly to the logic of facts, and accept the inevitable, and despair of the ideal of the earliest Christians? Or shall we fall back on the divine purpose? Shall we proclaim it anew, in the faith which sees the invisible, and refuses to be daunted by apparent impossibility?"

It was in this spirit that the Dean of Wells went to Malines, and took part in those memorable Conversations. No one present at those Conversations was more attracted by the Dean's longing for unity than Cardinal Mercier himself. In his admirable and most affecting letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1925 the Cardinal gave heartfelt witness to the deep impression that Dr. Armitage Robinson had made upon him. He quoted the Dean's remark that "for four centuries, Anglicans and Roman Catholics were only aware of their antagonisms and divisions; they have met for the first time in order better to understand each other, to remove the misunderstandings which estrange them, to draw nearer to the goal so wished for by everyone—reunion."

Of that utterance of Armitage Robinson, Cardinal Mercier said: "When the revered Dean uttered these moving words, he did not merely address our small and limited group, but the mass of believers which we knew were behind us and whose *perseverent* faith in Christ and in the Church is the object of our constant care and anxiety."

The direction in which the Dean looked for movements towards Reunion was largely based on his deep conviction of the providential character of the Episcopate. The Episcopal ministry was to him not only the centre of unity in the present, but also the symbol of unity with the past and the promise of unity in the future. On the principles of the constitution of the Church and the Ministry his teaching was entirely on the Catholic side. He rendered great and memorable service to the cause of unity.

Henry Barclay Swete, afterwards Regius Professor, while Rector of Ashdon in Essex from 1882 to 1889, cautiously advanced the ceremonial of the country Church. "If he wore vestments at the early Eucharist, the mid-day celebration was severely plain. Matins was only partly choral, with the psalms and litany said; while Evensong had its processional cross, lights, and many hymns."¹

There is no question that the great decisions of the Church in matters of Faith possessed for Professor Swete a definite decisiveness and finality. They had an authority which he accepted and revered.² By his lectures on the Apostles' Creed, the Incarnation, the primitive conception of the Eucharist, the Virgin Birth, the early history of the Christian Ministry, Confession and Absolution, he contributed greatly to extend in the University and beyond it a knowledge of Catholic principles.

Arthur James Mason, afterwards Canon of Canterbury, contributed greatly as a Missioner to promote the Catholic cause. In the Chapel of Trinity College he preached a deeply conscience-stirring sermon on Con-

¹ *Life of H. B. Swete*, 1918, pp. 44-45.

² Cf. *The Ancient Creeds in Modern Life*, 1914.

fession and priestly Absolution. It was in 1881 a quite unheard of subject in sermons to undergraduates in a College Chapel, and produced a very memorable effect. His teaching on the early conceptions of the Church did much to strengthen belief in its Divine authority. "Its doctrine was everywhere the same; its worship, with real diversity of forms, centred round one Eucharistic memorial. It had an organized hierarchy for worship and for the pastorate of souls. This hierarchy maintained union between the local branches, and did so in the name and by the authority of Christ. However far back the history is traced, no date can be assigned, however roughly, for the appearance of Catholicism in the Church. The Church was Catholic from the outset."¹

When Mason formed a College of Mission priests in London it was sometimes thought that here were the beginnings of a permanent community. It proved, however, that this was not his vocation. But the years of common life certainly led more than one of its members to thoughts of the religious vocation.

¹ *Early History of the Church and Ministry*, p. 56.

IX

CAMBRIDGE TRACTARIANS AND THE *CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW*

THE *Church Quarterly Review* appeared for the first time in October, 1875, under the influence of A. J. Beresford Hope and R. W. Church. It is of historical importance that three of its editors in succession were Cambridge men. Arthur Rawson Ashwell, Principal of the Chichester Theological College and Canon of the Cathedral, became editor in 1876. He had studied theology for two years under Professor Blunt at Cambridge. On his death in 1880, he was succeeded by Benjamin Webb, who controlled the destinies of the *Review* for the next five years. To him succeeded in editorial functions a layman, Benjamin Webb's intimate friend, Christopher Knight Watson. In the 100th number of the *Review*, representing the principles which this quarterly was designed to advance, he said: "On the subject of theological belief and practice our general attitude has all along been that of the Tractarians." This was written in 1901. It would, he added, "be absurd to say that in no respect their work needed revision or addition." But the *Church Quarterly Review* had relied on the Divine promise of guidance; it held that "the final decisions of the whole Catholic Church are infallibly right; the reality of sacramental grace so that in Baptism the baptized person is in very deed a member of Christ in union with His Sacred Body, in

Absolution the sins of the penitent are actually forgiven, and in the Holy Eucharist the consecrated bread and wine are made to be the Body and Blood of Christ." These doctrines the quarterly declared to "form part of that great system of truth to which the Tractarians were committed, and which it has been one of our purposes to defend."

It was during Knight Watson's editorship that the protest occurred in the *Church Quarterly Review* in 1898: "Is it altogether chimerical to hope that we may hear from our Bishops such an assertion of Catholic truth as would remove many of the difficulties of practical administration which now beset their path, an assertion which would give confidence to any of the clergy who, accepting the great doctrines of the Catholic Faith, are somewhat afraid to trust those who are set over them? . . ."

"If Churchmen generally," said the *Review*, "could be fully assured on the one hand of the Bishops' fidelity to the Book of Common Prayer, and on the other of their steadfast adherence to Catholic principles, there would be an opportunity for the secure and permanent recovery of the active and effectual use of the powers of government which, through the errors of their predecessors at the times of the Tractarian and early Ritualistic movements, were temporarily lost."¹

¹ "The Present Crisis in the Church of England," October, 1898.

X

SOME CAMBRIDGE BISHOPS IN FOREIGN MISSIONS

THE partial, the gradual, and the complete identification of the episcopal career with the principles of the Revival in the Mission Field may be illustrated in three very different examples—Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, Bishop Edward Bickersteth of South Tokio, and Bishop Smythies of U.M.C.A.

George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand (1841), was afterwards translated to Lichfield. His nomination by Government to the former See was nearly frustrated on the suspicion that he was a Tractarian.¹ After his nomination the Bishop Designate declared that he had never read any of the Tracts. His biographer relates that "he was anxious to get rid of the Erastian expression of the Queen 'giving him power to ordain,' the profanity of which is only equalled by its absurdity; but the Crown lawyers were inexorable; and the Letters Patent, which have since been declared to be utterly valueless, were issued with the offensive clause in the full force of its impotent assumption. Against this preposterous claim the Bishop could only protest, and this he did formally in a document which is probably among the archives of the Colonial Office." "I think it right," said Bishop Selwyn, "in expressing my readiness to accept the Patent as now framed, to state

¹ Tucker, *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, i., p. 67.

to your Lordship that, whatever meaning the words of it may be construed to bear, I conceive that those functions which are merely spiritual are conveyed to the Bishop by the act of Consecration alone."¹

In a Charge to his Diocese in 1847 he spoke expressly on the Oxford Movement of 1833. "When we are expected to censure, we find it rather in our hearts to bless those servants of God, who, when much of our apostolical discipline had been decayed and lost, devoted all the energies of their mind, and all the intensity of their prayers, to build up again the walls which seemed to be tottering to their fall." He compared the great Tractarian chiefs to David's three mighty men—"those three men, mighty in the Scriptures, who when they found us hemmed in with enemies, and thirsting for Catholic unity, went forth to draw water for us from the well of primitive antiquity: but one was taken captive by the foreign armies which had usurped the well. May we not respect the motive, commend the effort, and bless the men, even while we reject the gift?"

He went on further to explain more precisely what he meant. "I am not called upon to censure men whose private character I revere, while I differ widely from the conclusion to which some of them have been led. While it seemed that the one object of all their endeavours was to develop in all its fulness the actual system of the Anglican Church, neither adding aught to it, nor taking away aught from it: but purifying its corruptions, calling forth its latent energies, encouraging its priesthood to higher aims, and to a more holy and self-denying life; . . . in one word, while they seemed to teach us to do in our own system and ritual what the Apostles did in their days, and what our own

¹ *Ibid.*, i., p. 72.

Church still prescribes; I felt that I could not disobey their calling, because it was not theirs, but the voice of my Holy Mother whom I had sworn to obey, and the example of the Apostles which it was my heart's desire to follow. But when a change came upon the spirit of their teaching, and it seemed as if our own Church were not good enough to retain their allegiance; when, instead of the unity for which we had prayed, we seemed to be on the verge of a frightful schism; then indeed I shrunk back, as if a voice had spoken within me: Not one step further; for I love my Church in which I was born to God, and by His help I will love her unto the end."¹

It should be remembered that these utterances were delivered only two years after Newman's secession.

Years afterwards, in 1868, when the authorities were anxious to control the ritual observances of that time, Selwyn as Bishop of Lichfield did his utmost to prevent unwise decisions. He regretted the existence of a Royal Commission on the subject of Ritual. "The appointment of a Royal Commission," he said, "is, in effect, superseding to a certain extent the legitimate functions of the Church. It is because I believe that the ancient landmarks ought not to be removed except with the same solemnity and by the same process as that with which they were originally laid down—and it is because this matter is in danger of leading to a removal of the ancient landmarks by an incompetent authority—that I think it would be much better that we should not pass any resolution upon the subject at all, but that we should trust rather to the prevailing common sense and good feeling of the clergy themselves, when these things have run riot for a little while, not to allow

¹ *Ibid.*, i., p. 240.

them to run to such an excess as to inflict any permanent injury upon the Church."¹

He added at a later time the critical reflection: "When we see that four most eminent lawyers on one side declare that vestments are illegal, and that four eminent lawyers on the other side declare that they are not, and when we see that the counsel for the prosecution does not think it expedient to introduce the question of vestments into his plea, one cannot fail to feel that a decision of a Court of Law would not settle the point."

When Bishop Selwyn deprecated the removal of the ancient landmarks, and spoke of the incompetence of State Commissions as authorities on the affairs of the Church, he was advocating the principles of the Catholic Revival and re-echoing the very thoughts of Pusey and of Hugh James Rose.

Bishop Selwyn's general convictions as a Churchman are summarized by his biographer in the following terms:

"He uttered no shibboleths, he led no party, probably he satisfied no party; his grasp of the Divine inherent life of the Catholic Church and, as growing out of this, the true doctrines of the Priesthood, of the power of the Keys and of Apostolical Succession, of the grace of Sacraments, led some persons to stamp him, in common with all who thus held the truth according to the proportion of the faith, as a High Churchman; but no man ever more truly earned the title of Evangelical, or more thoroughly clung to the great and simple doctrines of the Gospel." "He had gathered all the advantages of the great Oxford Movement . . . but he did not allow personal admiration of great men to make him a merely passive follower."²

¹ *Ibid.*, ii., pp. 143, 144.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 330, 331.

Edward Bickersteth, who became Bishop of South Tokio, is an example of gradual appreciation of Catholic principles in a Cambridge man brought up in the strictest school of Evangelicalism: in that famous centre of Evangelical principles, Christ Church, Hampstead, where his father, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, author of the well-known poem "Yesterday, Today and Forever," was Vicar for thirty years. He was familiarized with all that was best in the religion of that school. At Cambridge he was Scholar of Pembroke and became intimate with disciples of Westcott, including A. F. Kirkpatrick, V. H. Stanton and A. J. Mason. In these associations his religion expanded and came to include elements hitherto unfamiliar.

Edward Bickersteth's biographer gives a very interesting insight into the process of his religious development. "To the fact that he was born and bred among the Evangelicals may be attributed his early sense of the seriousness of life, of the necessity for personal religion, of the reality of Divine mercy and judgment, and of the constraining force latent in the words 'for Christ's sake.' This spiritual birthright he never lightly esteemed, and never forfeited by a rash exchange into a wholly opposite school of thought; but his natural disposition, his love of learning and precision of thought, his appreciation of first principles and of historical precedents, and his balanced judgment, made it certain that fuller sacramental teaching when presented to him would find a ready response and satisfy the deeper instincts of his nature. Moreover, in God's providence he went up to the University two years before the Cambridge School of Divinity received its most powerful recruit in the person of Dr. Westcott (called in 1871 to be Regius Professor of Divinity), and

the influence of his Alma Mater, interpreted for him by Lightfoot, Westcott, and others, completed his mental and spiritual evolution, more especially after his return to the University to reside as a Fellow" (in 1875).¹

The record of his life amply confirms the accuracy of this account. Years afterwards, when as Bishop in Japan he had to supervise the work of strong Evangelical Missionaries, he wrote: "These are people from whom I feel one may learn much. Their hearts are really in their work, and they pursue it simply and loyally for Christ's sake. Of course I do feel a great lack of Church privileges and of the sense of need of them. They would be stronger and better if they would only superadd them to what they have."

Like many Cambridge men, he was conscious of an incompleteness and vagueness in some departments of Dr. Westcott's teaching. Reflecting on the Intermediate State, he could not quite follow Dr. Westcott's plea for keeping one's mind all but a blank on the subject, while of course he acknowledged how limited our knowledge is. "I think it is not sufficiently customary among us to practise meditation on the other life. I suppose it passed away a good deal with prayers for the dead; but if they were at all generally revived . . . I think it would be helpful and salutary."

In his Pastoral letter in 1889, Bishop Bickersteth referred to the decisions of the Privy Council, and said that he was unable to agree with those who hold that the Privy Council "is an ecclesiastical Court, or that its judgments represent the living voice of the Church. Were this the case, it would follow that the Church could no longer claim to be the interpretation of Divine

¹ *Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth*, by Samuel Bickersteth, 1901, pp. 14, 15.

revelation to her children and to the nation. She would have abdicated this high function in favour of a body of lawyers, to whom indeed all respect is due for their office and talents, but who need not necessarily be, and some of whom are not, believers in the Christian faith."

It is very interesting to read the matured reflections of this son of Evangelical antecedents on such a subject as Confession. He maintained, in 1891, that it should only be adopted from the deliberate conviction that it is good for oneself, not because others urge it as a duty. He considered it a most unwarrantable infringement of the liberty of the children of God secured to them in their Baptism to make Confession a necessary condition for Holy Communion. But, on the other hand, he considered it "a mistake either to forbid Confession or to confine the permission for it to certain persons of presumably the very weakest character. Experience shows that this is not the case. Very strong and noble natures have found the greatest help in it." "I heartily approve of it for many persons, but I am equally sure it is not, like the two great Sacraments, incumbent on all or good for all. Its use or non-use should, I hold, depend on character, circumstances, training, etc. It would be hopeless to reconcile either antiquity or the English Church with the view that it is compulsory in the sense of the two Sacraments; and, on the other hand, its practical disuse has greatly weakened the Church's efficiency and lowered, in many cases, the standard of spiritual life." In a letter of the next year occurs the following impressive passage: "I wish to tell you that I made use for myself of Confession for the first time this Lent."

Cambridge has had a very important share in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Not only has

the Cambridge branch done real service, but it gave Bishop Smythies to the work. That wonderfully impressive man, with his magnificent physique, was an undergraduate at Trinity College in 1863. He came under the influence of George Williams, Senior Fellow of King's and President of the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity. In that Confraternity Smythies learnt Catholic ideas. He came to realize that the Church was the Body of Christ and that the Sacraments imparted grace. His biographer, Fr. Russell of St. Alban's, Holborn, attributes Smythies' spiritual development to the Theological College at Cuddesdon under Edward King, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, whose devoted disciple and lifelong friend he became.¹ Smythies went at the request of the Rev. F. W. Puller to work with him in the Parish of Roath, Cardiff. On the death of Bishop Steere, the Bishop of London offered Smythies the Bishopric of the Universities' Mission. Smythies declined. To be the Bishop of the Central African Mission was to fill one of the most honourable posts in Christendom. He felt himself entirely incompetent. But he knew a man admirably fitted in every way. That man was Fr. Puller of the S.S.J.E. Smythies sought to induce the Superior to give consent. In this self-effacing venture he failed. He was urged by the authorities of the Church that he himself was the man to bear the burden. He was consecrated Bishop in 1883.

¹ Russell, *Life of Bishop Smythies*, p. 10.

XI

CAMBRIDGE TRACTARIANS IN COLONIAL CHURCHES

Two Cambridge men who contributed greatly to the promotion of the Tractarian Revival in South Africa were Archdeacon Wirgman and James Green, Dean of Maritzburg. The former wrote the life of the latter, and told, in his characteristically vigorous way, the story of the struggle in South Africa for the spiritual independence of the Church. Wirgman was at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1870, and Green at Corpus Christi. Bishop Colenso is described by Wirgman as "an Erastian Protestant, who denied the existence of the Divinely ordered polity of the Catholic Church." "The Royal Supremacy, as exercised by a Parliament composed of persons of any and no religion, and as determined by the Privy Council, was to govern the Colonial Churches in matters of faith, doctrine, and discipline." "If," said Wirgman, "this Erastian-Protestant conception of the unestablished Colonial Churches had been allowed to prevail, the expansion, progress, and Catholic life of the Anglican Communion in the Colonies would have become *impossible*." "A passionate conviction that the Church Catholic was a visible society, possessing its own spiritual rights, and governed by its own laws, as the Kingdom of Christ upon earth, possessed the souls of the Tractarian leaders." Wirgman maintained that the Church in South Africa was founded on Tractarian ideals. Wirg-

man was a formidable antagonist. His theological learning was immeasurably superior to that of his Erastian opponents. He had a knowledge of Canon Law which enabled him to confront the supporters of Privy Council decisions with the fact that the Church had laws and principles of its own. In the long drawn and miserable conflict it is instructive to find Bishop Colenso rejecting the teaching of Frederick Denison Maurice on priesthood and confession, while Keble came to Archdeacon Wirgman's support with munificent offerings to the Catholic cause in the South African Church, to which also he bequeathed his valuable library.

A subject of great practical importance to the government and harmonious development of the Church which Wirgman studied with care is the Constitutional Authority of the Bishops. His work bearing this title appeared in 1899. He applied the principle to the Archbishop of Canterbury's decision in the Lincoln case.

"We may admire the juridical and dialectical skill of Archbishop Benson's judgment, in which he decided that he could judge one of his comprovincial Bishops as *judex solus*. But his reasoning and his conclusions do not commend themselves as being in accordance with the Canon Law of the undivided Church. It cannot be proved that a Patriarch or Metropolitan ever sat as *judex solus* to hear appeals, and such powers as Archbishop Benson claimed do not flow from the Patriarchal or Metropolitan position of the Throne of Canterbury, but rather from the mediæval prerogatives which the Hildebrandine Papacy granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury as *legatus natus* of the Pope."¹

¹ Wirgman, *Constitutional Authority of Bishops*, 1899, p. 238.

A characteristic example of Wirgman's teaching is to be found in his book on *The Blessed Virgin and all the Company of Heaven, Some Words for Peace*, 1905.

"It is the fear of an exaggerated and unauthoritative cultus of the Blessed Virgin, such as seemed a bad dream to a theologian so eminent as the late Cardinal Newman, which has caused many leaders of the Catholic Revival in the Anglican Communion to treat the honour due to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and the kindred subject of our invocation of their intercessions, with a reserve so cold and cautious. There appears to be a desire to dress up Catholic and primitive teaching in a special Anglican garb, and to sacrifice Catholic unity to an unnecessary assertion of a separate insular standpoint, which may be pardoned as the historical outcome of the Tudor Reformation, but which cannot be erected into a touchstone of loyalty for Catholics in communion with the See of Canterbury. The fear of unauthorized and exaggerated devotions such as Cardinal Newman deprecated ought not to drive us into an insular way of regarding what the whole Catholic Church has taught, and still teaches, with regard to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. We need a wider outlook, and a desire to explain and understand differing statements with a view to Catholic unity and reconciliation. It is our duty humbly to remember how much of Catholic truth we and our fathers have forgotten since the days of the Laudian revival, with all its limitations."¹

¹ P. 7.

XII

INFLUENCE OF THE REVIVAL IN THE COLLEGE CHAPELS

It was years before the Catholic Revival in Cambridge modified the observances in the College Chapels. Sidney Sussex College seems to have been the pioneer in the direction of ceremonial. In 1890 Dr. Hicks, Fellow of the College, Vicar of St. Mary the Less, and afterwards Bishop of Bloemfontein, secured that the Altar should be properly appointed. It was only after 1912 that a weekly Sung Eucharist was introduced, and later still that Eucharistic Vestments were added. Sidney Sussex has apparently also the distinction of being the first College to have a daily Eucharist.

Of recent years the number of College Chapels with a daily Eucharist has steadily increased. It is now to be found in King's, Caius, Trinity, Pembroke, St. Catherine's, and Selwyn—as well as in Sidney Sussex.

There is an obvious difference between the foundations created during the last century in Cambridge and those in Oxford. Keble College and Pusey House have no exact parallel in Cambridge. Their very names identify them deliberately with one definite type of Churchmanship. No one would select those names or think them appropriate for institutions of the Evangelical or the Broad Church type. Selwyn College does not represent—was not intended to represent—one school of thought. It was apparently founded

as a non-party College: a College of the Church of England no doubt, but certainly in no degree extreme. The presiding authority at Selwyn has seldom represented the principles of the Tractarian. No doubt the official staff has included men of Catholic convictions. It has been suggested that if the prophetic advice, "Lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes," were applied to the Churchmanship of the two ancient Universities, the one would represent the ideal of Oxford and the other that of Cambridge.

XIII

CAMBRIDGE MOVEMENTS TOWARDS COMMUNITY LIFE

It was not until the twentieth century that aspirations towards forming a religious Community seemed practical in the atmosphere of Cambridge. St. Anselm's House gathered some devoted men, Bishop Richardson among them. It aspired to be a centre for the Catholic-minded in the University. Its members were never numerous. Its work was intensive rather than diffuse, and very valuable to the few who came within its range. But the House was not long lived. The good work which St. Anselm's began is continued in the Oratory.

The Oratory of the Good Shepherd in Cambridge is a Society of unmarried priests and laymen. It is an Order which can be joined without necessarily relinquishing the work in which the person is engaged, or the place where he is living. Some of the members of the Oratory live together in Community, others hold office in Colleges and reside in the College where their work is. The intention is to provide a Society for persons desiring to lead a life of Catholic devotion under a certain simple rule. The members of the Oratory renew their profession every year. The work began in 1913. For seven years the Oratory had no House of its own. It now possesses an excellent House in Lady Margaret Road, dedicated by the Bishop of Ely in 1920. Members do not claim the title of "religious." We are told that they have not ventured to model their Constitution and Rule on those of any earlier or contemporary

Religious Community. "It is believed that there are many men who seek the discipline and stimulus of a common rule of life and devotion, and crave for the fellowship of a Community, but are not conscious of immediate vocation to any Religious Society whose Rule would require them to give up the work or profession to which they feel God has called them."

It has been characteristic of the Catholic Revival in Cambridge that its tendencies have been individualist rather than corporate. There is an unmistakable difference between the Religious Institutions which the Revival has created in Cambridge and Oxford respectively. It is certainly most desirable that religious Communities should exist in a considerable variety of forms. Some may be found more adaptable than others to modern requirements. Cambridge has not produced an Institution like the Cowley Society, or like the Community of the Resurrection. It has sent individuals into both: Fr. Figgis, Fr. Lionel Thornton and Bishop Frere, all Cambridge men, have found their vocation in Communities which Oxford created.

Undoubtedly Fr. Figgis, honorary Fellow of St. Catherine's, Cambridge, member of the Community of the Resurrection, holds an important place in the Cambridge contribution to the Oxford Revival, and this for accumulated reasons. His ability, his learning, his editorial association with Lord Acton's writings, his distinguished rank among Cambridge students of history, his remarkable gifts as a preacher, culminating in the fact that he was a monk, gave him peculiar influence both in the University and far beyond it. His Hulsean Lectures produced a profound effect on the undergraduate world. His exposition of principles in his volume on the Churches and the Modern State has greatly promoted a truer sense of proportion between

the functions of the secular and the spiritual authority. He did much to restore to the public mind a fairer judgment on the Middle Ages by insisting on its magnificent creations in the Cathedrals and in the great Monastic Institutions. He was thoroughly familiar with every movement of the modern world. He taught quite frankly that the party divisions known as High, Low, and Broad correspond to something real in human nature. But he was equally outspoken on the distinctive type of English Catholicism which retained the ministerial constitution of the Church and did not make light of Tradition. He moralized as an historian on the changes which Tractarianism had wrought in the condition of the English Church: how up to about 1880 all the official favour was against the Tractarians and their successors of the next generation. He reflected that "yet they have won a position from which it will not be possible to dislodge them. The question is now, not whether they have a place, but how much place others have within the borders of the Church."¹

Looking back across the century it seems true to say that if Oxford took the initiative Cambridge responded. And while there are no Cambridge names equivalent in popular esteem to the Oxford leaders, Newman, Keble, and Pusey, yet it has produced a solid host of able and learned advocates of the Catholic cause. There have been fewer secessions from the English Church in Cambridge than in Oxford. And if Cambridge has been less brilliant in its advocates of Catholic principles, it has manifested more restraint. Cambridge has not restored the religious life on the ancient lines as Oxford has done, yet its contribution to the same great cause has been indeed very considerable.

¹ *Hopes for English Religion*, p. 99.

